House of Representatives, June 11, 1852. The House being in Committee of the Whole, and hav ing under consideration the bill making appropriations for the Indian Department-

Mr. STEVENS, of Pennsylvania, said : Mr. Chairman I have nothing to offer which can much interest the House after the spicy debates of the last few weeks; for I have nothing to say on the Presidential question. Indeed, with us there is no occasion for it; for among all true Whigs there is perfect harmony, entire unanimity. And, al-though I am sorely distressed at the unhappy dissensions though I am sorely distressed at the unhappy dissensions which have destroyed the Democratic party, and slaughtered her ablest and most honored chiefs, yet it would be impertinent for me to interfere. Nor need aught be said of that very select and highly respectable body of gentlemen who denominated themselves the Union party; for, although it started with lofty pretensions and considerable sclat, yet it met an early fate. Engendered by a whirlwind of their own creation, it vanished with the element that gave it birth; for, although we have lately seen its ghost flitting across this hall, in the agreeable form of the gentleman from Tennessee, (Mr. WILLIAMS,) with certain uneasy attendant spirits, yet its corpus is in the tombs: unensy attendant spirits, yet its corpus is in the tombs; and, admonished by the charitable injunction, de mortuis nisi bonum, I am necessarily held in the profoundest si-

lenca with regard to it.

I propose to discuss the several land bills already reported to this House, with the legions that are yet in the womb of the committee, and incidentally a protective tariff. Those bills involve the question both of the right and the policy of the General Government to dispose of the public lands. The right to dispose of them is expensely the committee of the committee of the committee of the committee of them. the public lands. The right to dispose of them is expressly given by the constitution, and ought, therefore, to be unquestioned. The objects to which they ought to be applied must depend on the nature of the title. The title is of two kinds. When the thirteen colonies became independent they laid claim to large tracts of unoccupied land. Those claims were often conflicting. Congress, under the Confederation, invited the States to cede them to the General Government, and pledged the Government, by a solemn resolution, to hold them for the equal benefit of all. Virginia, who ceded the Northwest Territory, inserted the express provisions of the grant, "that it should serted the express provisions of the grant, "that it should be a common fund for the benefit of all the States." The following is an extract from the deed:

"To remain a fund for the use and benefit of such States as should become members of the Federal alliance, according to their respective proportions in the usual general charges and expenditures."

and expenditures."

That proportion has been definitively fixed by the Constitution of the United States to be in proportion to the Federal population of the several States. The General Government, therefore, holds this land, not in absolute, unconditional fee-simple, but in trust, to be applied according to the conditions of the grant.

I can find no authority any where in Congress to violate those conditions, and bestow the land in a different direction. I would thank gentlemen from the new States, who entertain such delicate scruples about the right of

who entertain such defleate scruples about the right of the General Government to distribute the lands or their proceeds among all the States, to tell me where they find authority for this partial distribution.

There is another class of public lands held by a difference of the class of public lands held by a difference of the class of public lands held by a difference of the class of the clas

There is another class of public lands held by a different title. The Government, after its formation, acquired large countries by purchase or by conquest. Such was Louisiana, purchased from France: Florida, from Spain; and New Mexico and Utah, robbed from Mexico. To this land Government has an unconditional title, and may dispose of it as she sees fit; still such disposition should be governed by principles of justice, equity, and equality. At the time of their acquisition the old States were the sole owners of all the land. Their means acquired the whole. They sold certain portions of it to actual settlers at small prices. Did their grantees acquire any rights beyond the extent of their surveys? Did their purchase of a section give them any title or claim, in law or equity, to the adjoining or any other section?

to the adjoining or any other section?

The Government, in process of time, laid off certain boundaries of the public domain, and admitted the inhabitants into the Union as a State. Did that act divest the old States of their title to the unsold lands, or vest any new interest or right in the inhabitants of such new State, except what they acquired in common with all the other

This Government has been compared, in this debate, to a partnership. Be it so. Here is a strong firm carrying on business, rich in real estate. The new partner asks admission into the firm. He is poor, and naked, and penndess. The old partners are magnanimous. They admit him. They agree to find all the capital. They put their whole fund into the aromon stock. Does this give the new partner any right to robel, to claim the whole pro-perty, to put his hand into the coffers and take out all the money, and refuse the senior partners any part of it? Modesty as well as justice would seem to dictate that he should allow the eider partners at least an equal share of their own.

But gentlemen of the Northwest entertain conscientious scruples as to the power of Congress to divide the public lands, or the proceeds, among the States.

Why does not the same objection lie to dividing it among labor. The chief value

part of the Stafes? Can any authority be found for the tter that does not apply to the former?

The truth is, their scruples lie much nearer the heart than any cold abstractions. The objection is, that the divisor was too large when it consisted of all the States, and the dividend to small. and the dividend to small. It grows more constitutions as you reduce the devisor and increase the dividend.
Their censcience is a large one. Fill it with the whole
public domain, and, like a surfeited boa constrictor,
it is quiet and placid. Put into it but a part of it is quiet and placid. Put into it but a part of the land, and, like the stomach of a hungry man, it becomes uneasy and collapses. This anti-disunion school are very hostile to large corporations. Yet they would give the whole of the public lands to increase the wealth of private railroad companies. The bills, to be sure, propose to give it to the States. But they grant it to the corporations. Last Congress granted land thirty miles wide to make a railroad from Chlesgo to Mobile. The State of Illinois has granted it to the Central Railroad Company, consisting of the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Rantoul) and his associates.

The gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Rantoul) says that the United States grants this land for the benefit of all the States; that those roads are but links of one vast chain of public improvements, leading to the Atlantic shores. True; but why not grant to all the other companies a just proportion, to make their links of this same

shores. True; but why not grant to all the other com-panies a just proportion, to make their links of this same chain? If the Westers links are useful to the East, so the Middle and Eastern links are at least equally useful to the West. Are the old States to make the whole chain, and not be allowed to take part of their own lands to do it with? Pennsylvania has expended \$40,000,000, which she still owes, to make her link—to make a railroad over the most invincible portion of the whole route; and yet these grasping new States refuse to let her have her share of her own lands to pay it with, and felieve the burden of her records.

her people.

But the gentleman from Massachusetts and others tell

pays for.

This raising the price of lands is unjust to the poorer This raising the price of lands is unjust to the poorer settlers. The more wealthy man may select the choice locations, and leave the worthless to him of less means. Now, all who can raise \$200 may enter land on equal terms. But you raise the price, and he who can raise \$400 may select a pleasant site near a railroad; while he who has but \$200 must go back fifteen miles from any such road. Indeed, the hundred roads which you are projecting parallel to and at right angles to each other, will thrust him back to the foot of the Rocky Mountains. I can give no vote which will make that injurious distinction.

The geatleman from Massachusetts (Mr. RANTOUL) supports these grants to railroad companies on the principles of free-trade. It is not my intention to discuss at much length the doctrine of free trade. That has been so amply done of late, both orally and in writing, as to become

has never been reduced to practice, except among barbarian tribes. I think gentlemen cannot point to a single highly civilized commercial and manufacturing nation capable of producing the raw material that has ever adopted it. Every highly cultivated nation has made the protection of domestic industry the special care of Govern-

has existed in ancient or modern times—at Syracuse, at Genoa, and Venice. But the most powerful example of the influence of manufactures on the commence and wealth of nations is to be found in the case of Holland.

Up to the end of the reign of Charles I. Holland was the workshop of Europe. Her ingenious and industrious mechanics and manufactures produced not only enough for their own country, but large surpluses to export to other nations. That surplus furnished employment for a large number of her own vessels, which took her fabrics to other countries, and brought back rich cargoes, not merely for their own consumption, but for the supply of neighboring markets. While other nations were trafficking in the bulky raw materials of little value, she was dealing in the same material, increased a hundred fold in value by the industry and skill of her people. Thus she commanded the market of every country, and not only enriched her mechanics and manufacturers, but her traders and shippers became merchant princes. She had more wealth than any other nation, and her commercial marine exceeded in number of ships all the other nations of Europe together. Her war vessels also exceeded that of any other nation. All this wealth, all this commerce, all this power, was produced by a country of small circumference and with little agricultural advantages. It was done by manufactures alone. How did she lose this superiority, and what country has gained it, and by what means?

Whatever else may be said of the English Puritans, it is certain that the Commonwealth under Cromwell produced some of the ablest statesman of the world.

England at that time was a poor nation, with but few manufacturing establishments. Her wise men saw that

duced some of the ablest statesman of the world.

England at that time was a poor nation, with but few manufacturing establishments. Her wise men saw that her insular position and her small territory rendered it impossible for her to become rich and powerful except through commerce and manufactures. How were they to accomplish it? Did they preach free-trade doctrine? That would have exactly suited Holland. She had an immense start in skill and capital, and that system would have left her forever without a rivel; for the nation which mense start in skill and capital, and that system would have left her forever without a rival; for the nation which is far above all others in knowledge and means that system which will keep other nations from starting at all is the true one. Just so surely it is the wrong one for those who are behind. The statesmen of England were deluded by no such folly. They saw that they must exclude the manufactured articles of other nations and give the home market exclusively to their own artisans, so as to induc them to embark their time, their capital, and talents in the creation of domestic fabrics. She admitted the raw material which she could not produce free, prohibited the importation of many articles, and laid heavy discriminating duties on others. But her main instrument was the celebrated Navigation Act.

The provisions of that famous law it would be pedantic

The provisions of that famous law it would be pedantic for me to enumerate before a body of gentlemen every one of whom is thoroughly acquainted with it. It is enough to say that its provisions were the most stringent and most highly protective, both of commerce and manufactures, of any that it was possible to form. Nothing could be further from free trade. Its effect was all that its projectors desired. England at once became a manufacturing country. She not only had a monopoly of the home market, but was soon able to compete with her great rival in the markets of the world. As a necessary consequence, her commercial marine increased rapidly; that nursery fed her war navy until she has become the most nursery fed her war navy until she has become the most manufacturing, commercial, rich, and powerful nation that the world ever saw. And where is Holland, who, in

her pride, neglected these precautions? She has sunk to an insignificant Power among European nations; she is overshadowed by her mighty rival?

England has acquired all this power, wealth, and grandeur through her protective policy alone. And now she preaches "free trade" to others—to young nations! And there are found shallow dupes who swallow the bait! It is often objected to a protective tariff that it is for the benefit of the rich capitalists. This argument, I know, is never used by statesmen or writers on political econo-my, but often by demagogues who fancy themselves

Now, sir, it is easy to show protection against foreign competition is mainly for the benefit of the laborer. True, it helps the capitalists; for it is impossible to benefit labor without aiding capital, and it is impossible to benefit capi-

of the raw material is increased by the labor of the operatives from four to twenty times. And a great part of the value of the raw material is the effect of labor, not capital. Whoever, therefore, sustains the protection of domestic industry sustains the labor of the people; whoever opposes it votes for their oppression and poverty.

I have said that every branch of national industry is dependant on every other, and partakes of its prosperity or depression. But perhaps no class is so largely benefited by protection as the farmers, as none contribute so largely to the power and independence of nations. If it were necessary that either commerce or agriculture should sacrifice something to the other, let it be commerce. It is possible to push foreign trade too far. Cicero, in his treatise on the Republic, says that the reason of the great weakness of Carthage was that she gave too much attention to her shipping, and neglected agriculture. The wealth of the farmer arises from his surplus products. And their value depends upon a ready, a handy, and a constant market. The nearer to his farm you bring that market the better for him. The farmer who must send his produce from Pennsylvania to England for a market must deduct from the price the cost of freight. The farmer in Ohio, Indiana, or Illinois who sends his to the seaboard, and thence to Europe, finds half the price consumed in carriage. If each had as good a market in his own State, he would save all that expense, and double his profits.

How are you to create that market? In the same way

But the gentleman from Massachusetts and others tell us that the Government gives away, nothing by such grasts, because the bills provide that the remaining alternate sections (for thirty miles wide) sinall not be sold at less than \$2 50 per acre—double the present price of public lands. This I look upon as one of the worst features of these unnumbered hills. Is tands to retard the settlement of the country, by raising the price to actual settlers. The alternate sections granted to railroad companies are held still higher; no maximum price is fixed to them; they are held up, as we find? to be the avowed intention of the Chicago and Mobile road, until they shall bring \$10, \$15, and \$20 per acre.

If the Government does not make the railroad, who does? Why the purchasers of the remaining sections. You give every alternate section for fifteen miles, on each aid of the road, to the corporation, and charge the price to the actual settlers build the whole road without giving them a dollar of the stock. Their money goes to the benefit of the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Rastout) and other speculating corporators, and furnishes stock worth hundreds of millions to them, without their paying a dollar; and thus enriches them and their posterity out of the hard earnings of others. This whole system I look upon as a shameful private speculation. To this I object. Let every man pay for his own property, and enjoy what he pays for.

This raising the price of lands is unjust to the poorer

and the waters that feed the Mississippi. There is per-haps no country in the world of equal extent more fertile than that ralley. A few years will fell the forests and re-duce it to cultivation. Where will that vast grain-grow-ing country find a market for its products? One gentleman (Mr. Rantoul) advises them to build railroads, and send it to New York, Boston, and Philadel-phia, instead of comments.

ment. It has been found by the experience of more than twenty centuries that the protection of domestic manufactures by prohibitions, discriminating duties, and commercial regulations has been and is the true, natural, and wise policy of nations, or all history is a lie. It is a miss take to suppose that the elevation of one national interest, is the depression of others, as is more than inshunated by the Baltimore platform, which is intended, not only for all kinds of men, but for every fowl of the alt, fish of the sea, four-found platform, which is intended, not only for all kinds of men, but for every fowl of the alt, fish of the sea, four-found platform, which is intended, not only for all kinds of men, but for every fowl of the alt, fish of the sea, four-found platform, which is intended, not only for all kinds of men, but for every fowl of the alt, fish of the sea, four-found platform, which is intended, not only for all kinds of men, but for every fowl of the alt, fish of the sea, four-found platform, and the property of the sea, four-found platform, and the sea of the present platform and the property of the sea of the present platform and the property of the sea of the present platform and the property of the sea of the present platform and the property of the sea of the present platform and the property of the same cause has produced the same effect wherever it has existed in ancient or modern times—at Syracuse, at dea of the present year it is about 3,000,000 of tons. The duty on foreign bar time, and the sea of the present year it is about 3,000,000 of tons. The duty on foreign bar time, and the sea of Holland.

Up to the end of the reign of Charles I. Holland was the high of the property of

dent, became alarmed lest American interest should triumph over British interests, and instructed their Min-ister here to interfere. Sir H. L. Bulwer addressed the following letter to our Goyernment:

BRITISH LEGATION,
WASHINGTON, JANUARY 30, 1850.

Sir: It having been represented to her Majesty's Government that there is some idea on the part of the Government of the United States to increase the duties upon British iron imported into the United States, I have been instructed by her Majesty's Government to express to the United States Government the hope of her Majesty's Government that no addition will be made to the duties imposed by the present tariff of the United States, which already weigh heavily on British productions; and I cannot but observe, for my own part, that an augmentation of the duties on British produce or manufactures, made at a moment when the British Government has, by a series of measures, been facilitating the commerce between the two countries, would produce a very disagreeable effect on public opinion in England.

I awail myself of this opportunity to renew to you the assurance of my most distinguished consideration.

HENRY L. BULWER.

Hon. John M. Clayton, &c. BRITISH LEGATION.

Hon. JOHN M. CLAYTON, &c. This certainly was a bold measure. For a foreign Gov ernment to attempt to obstruct the modification or repeal of an American law by an American Congress was denounced by some as impertinent. But to me it seemed natural, if not proper. It must be remembered that the tariff of 1846 was produced by her Britannic Majesty, after great anxiety, expense, and labor. During the period of its gestation she had an agent, with rooms assigned him in this Capitol, to watch over its progress, and facilitate its advent. It was safely delivered by the aid of the celebrated accoucheur, Mr. Secretary Walker. It is now one of the most cherished of her Majesty's numerous offspring. No wonder, then, that she felt paternal yearnings for its fate, when she heard that it was in danger of being mutilated by the ruthless hands of the Whigs. The ernment to attempt to obstruct the modification or repeal ings for its fate, when she heard that it was in danger of being mutilated by the ruthless hands of the Whigs. The gentleman from Massachusetts has done, and may still further do, a benevolent act, by assuring her Majesty that she has no cause for alarm; that she has in this country numerous faithful, able, and vigilant friends guarding its safety; and that so long as the Democratic party governs the councils of the nation, British interests will be protected against the encroachments of American interests. I need hardly say, sir, that, under the operation of this British tariff the iron masters of the United States are not only doing a losing business, but that utter and inevitable ruin stares them in the face, without speedy Contable ruin stares them in the face, without speedy Con-gressional relief.

I have heard of but two modes suggested to enable the manufacturers of this country to compete with Europe. The one is, to lay a duty on foreign importations equal to the difference between the cost of the article in Europe and the cost of the same article here. The other is, to reduce the price of American labor to the average price of labor in Europe of labor in Europe.

Certainly, if practicable, either mode would effect the

The duty, to be protective, should be equal to the dif-ference of the wages of labor in the two countries, or we can never long sustain our establishments. That would give liberal wages and all the comforts of life to our laborthat without ading labor. The chief value of most manufactured articles consists in labor. Take iron for an example, the cost of a ton or pig metal in the most favorable locations in this country is about twenty dollars. The capital lawes of a ton or pig metal in the most favorable locations in this country is about twenty dollars. The capital lawes of a ton or pig metal in the most favorable locations in this country is about twenty dollars. The capital lawes of the read estate—the furnace and land for producing the contract of the read estate—the furnace and land for in producing the core, coal, and smelting andmists to about sighteen dollars per ion. Not more than two dollars is explicit. Any protection given to first in grant the furnace hind; a part of time the labor of the famor, the miler, and the binches, who supply the grain, beef, and other provisions. Self, the protection is mainly to the labories of the country. So it is with fabrics of cotton and not of the read estate and the furnace hind; a part of time the protection is mainly to the labories of the country. So it is with fabrics of cotton and not contracted the coverage prices of grain bear twenty dollars to one dollar at the labor of the famor, the miler, and the binches, who may be the labor of the labor, and the furnace hind; a part of time the proportion of interest the labor of the country of the country. So it is with fabrics of cotton and not contracted by the labor of the country of the count

I think every impartial mind must see that the tariff of 1846 is vicious in principle and unwise in its provisions. When protection is most needed the ad valorem system affords the least, and when not needed at all it becomes burdensome. When foreign iron costs thirty dollars per ton in Europe, the duty, at thirty per cent, would be nine dollars, when no protection would be needed. When it falls in Europe to ten dollars per ton, which is the present case, the duty also falls to three dollars per ton. This is an absurdity in legislation. Nor can it be remedied by the ad valorem system without adopting the sliding scale, raising the duty as the price falls, so as to keep the cost here always the same. This would be difficult to do. There are many things that enter into manufactures which we cannot produce in this country. They should be admitted duty free. But the tariff of 1846 levies a revenue duty on them.

be admitted duty free. But the tariff of 1846 levies a revenue duty on them.

May we not hope that the Committee of Ways and Means will take up the subject and revise that injurious act? Cannot a fixed duty be levied on iron equal to what was intended by Congress to be fixed by the tariff of 1846? In 1846 the official price of pig iron at Glasgow was \$21, the duty at 30 per cent. was \$6.30—\$27.30; which, with the costs and charges, would have brought foreign iron to \$30 per ton. Now, the price of pig at the same place is \$10 per ton, and the duty falls to \$3—\$13; making, with costs and charges added, not more than \$15 for the price on our wharves. The difference between the price of foreign iron now and when the duty was laid is \$15. To carry out the spirit of the tariff of 1846, the duty should be raised so as to keep the price of the foreign arshould be raised so as to keep the price of the foreign ar-ticles at what it was when that tariff went into effect. In 1846 bar iron in Liverpool was worth \$88 per ton. The duty then laid was \$25.40—\$114.40. Now, the same article is at \$25 per ton, and the duty falls to \$7.50, making \$32.50 per ton; making the difference of the cost

In 1843, of bar iron only.....

One gentleman (Mr. Raxrott.) advises them to build railroads, and send it to New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, instead of consuming it at home; but they should recollect that when they have got it there, they will find no market. They have simply taken it to the place of embarkation to a European market—a poor and uncertain market. They are taught that their true policy is to carry five thousand miles to a precarious market! They are not even to encourage a market for it in Pennsylvania, New York, or Massachusetts.

It seems to me that the interest of the Northwest is to find their market beyond the Alleghanies. Why should not the shores of the great lakes and rivers become the sast of great manufacturing and commercial towns and cities, as well as the shores of the Euxine and the Baltic?

Suppose all the people of the West to be agriculturists, and to bring their produce to the Allantic cities for a market, what would be the effect on the farmers this side the Alleghanies—of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and New York? The Eastern market would be glutted by Western produce, and the prices so depressed as to de-

country was some set off to the low price of labor in England. England saw it, and determined to deprive us of this advantage. She repealed her corn laws, and admitted provisions duty free. The price of flour in England now is as cheap as it was in this country before the repeal of her corn laws. Germany and Russia are close at hand with large surpluses ready for market. The manufacturers feed their workmen just so much the cheaper, and can afford to reduce the price of their goods.

England has thus given additional protection to manufactures, and deprived us of the only advantage we had over them. This is "free trade!" This is "liberalizing" commerce!

ommerce!

But let us look a little further and see how far England

has abandoned the protective system. Ad valorem duties are said to be a great advance towards absolute free trade, which Mr. Walker lately boasted he hoped to see soon prevail. We collect all our own duties on the advalorem principle; England rejects it. I have not been the to see her returns for this year, but in 1848 she colable to see her returns for this year, but in 1848 she collected from customs something over \$105,000,000! Of that sum less than \$170,000 was raised on the ad valorem principle, and more than \$104,750,000 on the specific discriminating principle. Specific duties give protection by discrimination, and prevent frauds, which must always occur under the ad valorem.

Let us look at a few items of the British tariff, and see how wisely it is contrived to foster domestic industry. Take the article of silk, for example. Her climate is too moist to enable her to produce the raw material. Her tariff is so framed as to invite that to her shores to be worked by her laborers. Here is her rate of duties:

worked by her laborers. Here is her rate of duties :

Raw silk ..... 

Precisely as the value of the raw material is increased by labor, is the duty increased so as to secure that labor to her own citizens—a wise and patriotic regulation. Again, take tobacco, which is mostly imported from this ountry:

co, unmanufactured, per lb... Snuff, per lb......0
Manufactured, or cigars, per lb......0

This is not all; it is further provided that all tobacco imported, manufactured in England into shag, roll, cut, or twist tobacco, or cigars, and exported, shall be allowed a drawback per pound of 2s. 74d., leaving a duty on the raw article imported for manufacture and exportation of 44d., or eight cents.

41d., or eight cents.

Under this encouragement, owing to the cheap price of labor in Europe, our tobacco is taken there, manufactured, and brought back to undersell the same article in our own markets. Journeymen cigar-makers in this country are now petitioning Congress for relief, stating that they cannot compete, under the present duties, with the journeymen cigar-makers of Europe, who materially interfere with their business. Free-trade England levies a duty on cigars of \$2 the pound; duped America of a few cents!
Why should not the importation of cigars into this tobacco country be prohibited?

In looking into the English tariff laws I find the folowing: "A list of goods absolutely prohibited to be im-ORTED."

It begins with ARMS, AMMUNITION, and utensils It begins with ARMS, AMMUNITION, and utensils of war, and goes through several pages of other articles.

I will not tire you by enumerating other articles; all are rated with a similar view to the encouragement of domestic manufactures. I think I have shown that England acquired and preserved her wealth, her greatness, her prosperity, both as a manufacturing and commercial nation, by PROTECTION; and that, at this day, she still adheres to it with determined pertinacity; and that all her seeming approaches to free trade are really protective enactments.

I will now briefly notice the extraordinary and fabulou statement of the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Rantoul) relative to the effects of the tariffs of 1842 and 1846 on the prices of our agricultural products. He states that agricultural products were reduced in value under the tariff of 1842, and raised in value under the tariff of 1846. He states that all the exports for four years before 1842 were worth more than they would have brought under the tariff of 1842 by \$125,000,000; and that all the exports for four years before 1842 were worth more than they would have brought under the tariff of 1842 by \$125,000,000; and that all our exports for the four years since 1846 brought more by \$150,000,000 than they would have brought under the tariff of 1842. It is said that figures cannot lie. If the gentleman intended to convey the idea by this array of figures that the price of grain and other provisions was depressed by the tariff of 1842, and again raised by the tariff of 1846, (and what else could be mean?) then I am bound to say that figures have been so arranged as to convey a false idea, and make an erroneous impression to the public mind. sion on the public mind.

From 1887 to 1842 there was a suspension of speci

payments. Of course, there being no check on bank issues, our circulating medium became very large. The price of every thing ruse in proportion to that increase just as it did in 1814. The tariff of 1842 restored the circulating medium to a sound specie basis, contracted the number and of course reduced the nominal value of

four years. And he would have us infer that this was caused by that tariff. This is hardly candid. It hardly becomes the argument of a veracious statesman. He cannot be ignorant of the cause of such rise. In 1847 a portion of Europe was visited by a famine more distressing than any of modern times. The surplus grain from all parts of the world was hardly sufficient to supply them. The price of wheat run up from \$1 a bushel to \$1.75, and in some instances to \$2.75, our own markets. Did the tariff of 1846 produce this rise? If it did, then it produced the famine in Europe. This I can hardly believe, although it is producing poverty, want, and misery in the poor man's cottage in this country.

During the famine, in 1847 and 1848, our exports of provisions amounted to \$105,007,978. This was at prices varying from \$1.50 to \$2 per bushel. With the disappearance of the famine, prices sunk below the standard of 1846; and in the two following years, 1849 and 1850, our exports amounted to only \$65,167,420. Now, the gentleman (Mr. Baxrout.) takes the \$105,000,000, raised to near \$2 by the famine, and adds it to the \$65,000,000, and averages the two, and tells the country that the tariff of 1842. Sir, every farmer knows the fallacy of such statement. He knows by sad experience that as soon as the famine ceased to operate grain fell lower than it had been for many years; and instead of being at \$1.26, it sunk and is now selling at from seventy-five to eighty-five cents a bushel. I see by a morning paper that flour is selling in Baltimore at \$4 a barrel.

policy are the same which we are now pursuing, carried to their legitimate results.

The balance of trads is now, and has been for several years, about \$30,000,000 per year against us. Had it not been for the discovery of the gold mines of California it would, before this, have drained the country of every dollar of specie. We are exporting specie now at the rate of \$66,000,000 a year; the exports for the first five menths of this fiscal year being \$27,594,236. The gentleman admires this operation. He says, if we were not thus drained, gold would became so plenty as to throw us into "inextricable confusion." I thought the gentleman was a hard-money politician, and desired to see hard money enough to form our whole circulating medium. But has the gentleman no compassion for Europe? Are we to dig \$100,000,000 of gold a year, and pour all into Europe to throw her into a "state of perfect anarchy?" He says if it were to remain here "it would be the greatest calamity." Who would it hurt? I know it would est calamity." Who would it burt! I know it would raise the price of property, of manufactures, and would increase the wages of the laborer. That, to be sure, would run counter to the Democratic scheme of reducing the price of labor to ten cents a day. It would do no

the price of labor to ten cents a day. It would do no other damage.

The gentleman seems perplexed to know how to reconcile his constituents to the squandering of the public lands. But he argues that increasing the means of transportation between the East and the West will retard the progress of the new States in the manufacturing and succhanic arts, and secure to the northeastern portion of the Union a monopoly of that business for an indefinite period of time.

why, sir, this is protection? This is a cunningly-devised scheme, under the pretence of friendship for the West, to postpone their progress for the benefit of New England. This is a kind of English correlaw free-trade. The gentleman hopes, in this way, to secure the affections of the manufacturers of Massach asetts and of the people of the West. In other words, he would keep the inhabitants of the Northwest in a state of imperfect civilization. Nations without manufactures may be highly respectable, but cannot be highly refined. Man, in the shepherd state, is innocent, and herhaps happy. But it is not his true, ultimate destiny. I think the Northwest owe the Government but little gratitude for this attempt to retard their refinement.

ment but little gratitude for this attempt to retard their refinement.

But the gentleman gives a gloomy warning that even this is genious contrivance will not always keep down manufacturers in the Northwest; that they will not always get their sheetings from Lowell and their iron from Pennsylvania; that they will ultimately make all these things for themselves. For my part, sir, I say the sooner the day arrives the better. Let only a wise policy exclude foreign articles, and the Eastern market, with the markets of other countries, which we should be finally strong enough to enter, will suffice the manufacturers of the East; and the Eastern agriculturist, being free from the competition of the West, will rejoice in the event.

The gentleman tells us that all branches of industry are flourishing. This will be news to the manufacturers and farmers. He tells us that the iron business is particularly prosperous. This will be consoling to our iron-masters. Let them go home and dream, as the gentleman dreams, of golden profits while the sheriff is selling them out under the hammer. Sir, these are the opiates of a quack administered to a dying man. The iron business instead of flourishing is nearly destroyed. The tariff of 1842 raised the production in this country from 230,000 tons to 765,000 tons, which was the make of 1846. The tariff of 1846 sunk it to 418,000 tons, which was the make of 1851, a decrease of one-half.

ramento, San Joaquin, Napa, and Sonoma districts. New potatoes are already coming into market, and we have the greatest variety of vegetables constantly on hand at low rates for California. The probable effect of the year's sulture will be a still further reduction of prices for vegetables and barley, though of wheat, oats, buckweat, rye, and corn but very little will be produced. Corn indeed does not succeed at all in any part of this State or Oregon, but for every kind of cereal grain no climate and soil can be superior to ours. It will be long before we will raise our own wheat, not for want of capacity in the soil, but by reason of the competition of Chili and Oregon, both of which can raise it far cheaper than we can. Indeed, Oregon herself is partly supplied with flour from Chili, the addition of freight and duties to the price there being far less than the extra cost of labor on this coast. The business of stock growing is fast increasing. Fresh butter and milk are not now the rarities they once were, while fresh pork, though still high, is plentiful in the markets.

CHOLERA AT MAYSVILLE, (Ky.)

This mysterious disease broke out at Maysville on Sun-

distinguish themselves or to better their fortunes. But has done so much for the growth and greatness of our little definite has as yet transpired relative to his object, and it is frequently hinted that he has a very indefinite idea in the premises himself. Suffice it to say the company, whatever their purpose may be, have purchased, provisioned, and fitted up a barque, and are now on bution which of late years have been broached by vision.

ward D. Very, (pastor of the Baptist church in the adjoining parish of Portland, N. B., and editor of the St. John Christian Visitor,) Professor Chipman, and four students belonging to Acadia College, lost their lives by the of this scheme, which are forcibly set forth in a speech of upsetting of a boat, Of eight persons in the boat, only the Hon. Mr. Howard, of Texas."

mate in his excursion, and the affair is represented as a trick of this native or of the mate himself. It does not appear what motives either of these persons could have had in plotting such a piece of mischief. The affair is something of a mystery.

Jambi, the kingdom above mentioned, lies on the east coast of Sumatra, between Palembang and the equator.

[Boston Courier.]

Boston Courier.

"Pitteburg, June 11.—Three brothers named Campbell have been arrested, near Beatty's Station, forty miles beyond Pittsburg, for robbing the mails between here and Philadelphia. About sixty thousand dollars in money and checks have been found in their possession, which is supposed to have been abstracted from the mails. One of the brothers resides in this city, and another, Joseph Campbell, was a brakeman on the Central railread. Joseph had just been arrested for the robbery of Hamilton Beatty, when a portion of the contents of the mail was found in his pockets."

THE "LAND REFORMERS" IN NEW YORK.

ALBANY, JUNE 15.—While Mr. Waite, of Springfield, Massachusetts, was visiting his brother-in-law at Nassachusetts, was visiting his brother-in-law

Summary Work.—The police have made some fifteen arrests of parties concerned in flooding our city with the spurious five dollar bills on the Commercial Bank of Philadelphia. A large amount of the counterfeit money has also been recovered by the officers; likewise a considerable quantity of goods purchased by the counterfeiters in this city with the bad notes. A party of boatmen who were engaged in passing the notes here were pursued to Columbia and brought from there yesterday.

[Philadelphia Bulletin.]

THE WHIGS OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

At a State Convention of the Whigs of South Carolina, held at Charleston on the 19th June, 1852, pursuant to notice given on the 27th May—Dr. F. Y. POECHER was called to the Chair, and W. S. COATES, Esq. appointed Secretary.
G. S. BRYAN, Esq., Chairman of a Committee consisting of James Adger, J. L. Petigeru, Richard Charles, and W. Carole, Programme Richard Committee consisting of James Adger, J. L. Petigeru, Richard Charles and Water Charles Committee consisting of James Adger, J. L. Petigeru, Richard Charles and Water Charles Charles and Charles Cha

ARD YEADON, and WM. GREGG, Esqs., present the following preamble and resolutions, which we unanimously adopted:

mise as a final settlement of the questions included in it, and his determination to adhere to it, and to support it as President.

Such is the operation of "reciprocity" between old and young nations.

It is well illustrated in the article of cotton fabrics. In 1850 we imported cotton goods from England to the amount of \$19,096,530; England imported of the same article from this country \$50! Twenty millions of dollars against fifty dollars is the effect of free reciprocal "trade." Let the people reflect on these things, and elect such rulers as will pursue a wise and prosperous policy.

AGRICULTURE IN CALIFORNIA.

The San Francisco correspondent of the New York Courier and Enquirer writes as follows, under date of the 16th May:

"The agricultural prospects for the season are highly encouraging. Large crops of barley are ripening in the San Jose and Santa Clara valleys, as well as in the Sacraphono, San Joaquin, Napa, and Sonoma districts. New potatoes are already coming into market and we have the popointed by the potatoes are already coming into market and we have the following resolution:

\*\*Resolved\*\*, That we regard the present able, patriotic, and successful administration of the Federal Government as eminety entitled to the gratitude of our country, irrespective of all party divisions; we recognise in the temper and principles of its measures the just, equal, and liberal spirit of the Constitution; and we have in Mr. Fritmone a Chief Magistrate whose course has been guided by a single-minded devotion to his country and the Constitution, and who, at every difficult step of his administration of the Pederal Government as eminty entitled to the gratitude of our country, irrespective of all party divisions; we recognise in the temper and principles of its measures the just, equal, and liberal spirit of the Constitution; and we have in Mr. Fritmone a Chief Magistrate whose course has been guided by a single-minded devotion to his country and the Constitution, and who, at every difficult step of his administra

P. J. Porcher, Esq. offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That a committee of eight be appointed by the
Chair to nominate Delegates to the Whig Convention, to be
held in Baltimore on the l6th instant; and that said Delegates
be authorized and empowered to fill any vacancies in their own
body that may occur from sickness, absence, or otherwise, by
substituting Southern Whigs who are present.

This being carried, the following Committee were appointed, viz. P. J. Porcher, Dr. Thomas Ogier, J. J. McCarter, S. Mowry, L. M. Hatch, Z. B. Oakes, J. M. Walton, and T. W. Malone, who selected the subjoined ticket,
which was confirmed by the meeting:

Delegates at Large.
Hon. WADDY THOMPSON, of Greenville. WILLIAM GREGG, Esq., of Barnwell, Alternate Dr. Samuel Henry Dickson, of Charleston. TRISTRAM TUPPER, Alternate, of

For the Districts.

T. J. Kerr, 1st Congressional District.
G. S. Bryan, 2d do do
W. Patton, 3d do do
G. W. Brown, 4th do do
W. Whaley, 5th do do W. WHALEY, 5th R. K. PAYNE, 6th H. H. WILLIAMS, 7th do On motion, it was Resolved, That these proceedings be

published in the papers of the city. The meeting then adjourned. F. Y. PORCHER, President

W. S. COATES, Secretary.

Homestead Exemption .- The Ontario Repository expresses itself strongly in opposition to the Land Donation Bill. Concluding an article, it says: "No native American, who has health and vigor to wield an axe, or a particle of the resolute spirit of a pioneer settler, would thank the Government for its beggarly gift, when he could earn it in a twelvemonth, and retain his independence and self-respect. This spirit, hitherto so characteristic of our countrymen, and which ary reformers, which, instead of inculcating upon our citizens the duty and dignity of self-reliance, would teach them to look to the Government for support, and make them petulant and envious towards others, who, by greater

sale is the simulation of the students were a bushed. I see by a merning paper that flour is reling to the students are such as a bushed. I see by a merning paper that flour is reling to the students are such as a bushed. I see by a merning paper that flour is reling to the students are such as a bushed. I see by a merning paper that flour is reling to the students are such as a bushed. I see by a merning paper that flour and the students were such as a bushed. I see by a merning paper that flour and the students were the seed of the students were the seed of the students are the seed of 1846 and 1846 our exports have increased some that the seed of 1846 our exports have increased some that the seed of th